

Information Digest

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I. CENTRAL AFRICA

Protests Against Federation

"The PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY decided emphatically to-day to oppose any attempt to carry through the scheme for Central African Federation in the face of unanimous African opposition. The party is to press the Government to find time for a debate on federation before the referendum in Southern Rhodesia takes place." (*Manchester Guardian* March 5, 1953).

The GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS decided again to ask "the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and Commonwealth Relations to suspend for a year their plans for federating Central Africa." The T.U.C. reiterated its stand that "federation should not be forced through against the wishes of the African peoples". (*Manchester Guardian* February 26, 1953).

"The annual assembly of the UNION OF UNIVERSITY LIBERAL SOCIETIES in London approved by 28 votes to two a resolution deplored the proposed Central African Federation, and called on the Liberal party to organise a national campaign against it. The union pledged its support 'to an inter-university campaign against federation embracing the main political groups'. MR. DINGLE FOUL, a vice-president of the Liberal party, addressing the Assembly before the resolution was put, declared that it would be appalling to push federation through against the wishes of most of the people - the Africans themselves. "It is a contest into which we should throw ourselves. All the resources of the Liberal party should be concentrated on this one matter. We should try to make ourselves the spearhead of a popular front." (*Manchester Guardian* February 23, 1953).

A resolution viewing the federation proposals with grave concern has been passed by the Executive Committee of the CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF NORTHERN RHODESIA. It states that the committee is "deeply conscious of the recent growth of suspicion between the races in Northern Rhodesia, and desires to assure the African Christian community of its determination (while maintaining a neutral attitude on merely political questions) to assert the necessity of applying Christian principles to public affairs." (*East Africa and Rhodesia* February 26, 1953).

MR. CLEMENT ATTLEE, speaking at Wolverhampton, said he believed the idea of the Central African federation to be extremely dangerous. "The vocal opinion of Africans is against the scheme, because it believes that it means Africans under the continual domination of a small white minority. If this country wishes to maintain its standards it can only do so by working in partnership with the people of Africa and Asia." (*The Times* March 9, 1953).

The STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT at Manchester University, which recently inaugurated a group with representatives of all parties to study the federal proposals held a largely attended meeting of students where all points of view were considered. In January it was decided to send a petition to the Colonial Office. A further Open Meeting was held in the University at which the Rev. Michael Scott and some of the Central African chiefs spoke. The meeting was packed to capacity. Immediately after this the S.C.M. spent 2½ days trying to gain support for the petition, and collected 1,001 names. "This means that the majority of students who were asked to sign were willing to do so after they had found out what it was all about, and had been assured that it was not Communist-inspired. This is the first time many students have ever suspected that the Church has any concern with politics: surprise was the dominant reaction." (*British Weekly* February 12, 1953).

The TANGANYIKA AFRICAN ASSOCIATION passed a resolution on February 18 stating that it "cannot and will not support either an East African, a Central African or an East-Central African Federation designed to bring one race into domination over the others. In close co-operation with other liberal organisations in and outside Africa, Tanganyika African Association will employ all constitutional means to prevent or dissolve such ill-conceived Federation. The Association passed a motion re-affirming its faith "in the ability and genuineness of the British Government, repeat British Government - not settlers, to guide this country on a sound path to political progress, and once again declares its unswerving allegiance and loyalty to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II."

In a Press Statement issued on March 3, 1953, the Executive Committee of the AFRICA BUREAU repeated its protest against the Federal Scheme. The statement said that African opposition to the scheme was justified. 'Whereas the ratio of the black to the white population is 30 to 1, the ratio of their representation in the proposed Federal Assembly would be 1 to 4, and this ratio cannot be altered except by a two-thirds majority. To this Assembly so much political power would be transferred that the effectiveness of the proposed safeguards cannot be relied on. Partnership between the races is the declared aim of Federation; but, in view of existing colour bars and of the native policy of Southern Rhodesia, it is reasonable that Africans should desire to see a genuine beginning of 'partnership' before contemplating any federal scheme. A political argument advanced for Federation is that if it is not introduced now Southern Rhodesia may join the Union, and the lot of its Africans be worse than it is today. But, if this indeed is the intention of settlers in Southern Rhodesia it surely shows that they are not fit to be the most powerful community in a Central African Federation..... To lessen the protection of these people today by imposing a constitution not only without their consent but in face of their opposition would be a betrayal of trust."

Other Comments on Federation

"Replying to a question in the House of the People on February 17 PRIME MINISTER NEHRU said that the views of the African inhabitants of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be given the fullest consideration in the proposed scheme of Central African federation. The Government of India were aware that a scheme for Central African federation had been put forward and had been under discussion. There were approximately 4,150, 2,600 and 4,000 Indians in these places respectively.....

Asked if the Indian Government proposed to bring the question before the U.N., the Prime Minister replied: "No." The fact that the Government of India were interested and were of opinion that the views of African inhabitants of these areas should be given the fullest consideration was well known. When the occasion arose, the Government's views would be formally communicated to the other Governments concerned." (India News February 21, 1953).

The Church Times commented: "It is hard, when dealing with primitive people, to draw the line between legitimate information and propaganda. But this is a risk which must be taken by trustees, for education is an essential part of trusteeship. Certainly, if Federation becomes a fact, it will be the duty of all concerned to explain its working to the Africans and to ensure that it is used to promote their advancement to ultimate equality." (February 13, 1953).

The New Statesman and Nation said in an editorial comment that there were two economic reasons for urgency in pressing forward this federation: "Thanks to its own mismanagement, Southern Rhodesia today is 'broke': in 1951 its adverse balance of trade was £48 millions (compared with a 'national income' of £99 millions); and, to rub it in, last week's Southern Rhodesian Loan offered to the City of London lies largely on the hands of the underwriters. But Northern Rhodesia, thanks to the settlers' deal of 1949, prospers mightily, its favourable balance in 1951 being no less than £32 millions and its capital reserves relatively huge. Federation could save Southern Rhodesia from the bailiffs. (February 14, 1953).

The Times, in an editorial comment arising out of the correspondence quoted elsewhere in this Digest said: "A majority in this country believes that federation conceived in this fashion can have a 'dynamism' of its own, leading to a real partnership between Europeans and Africans on truly liberal terms. That is why the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Fisher, has appealed not for 'constitutional safeguards alone' but for 'good will made effective in action,' for 'the removal of some discriminatory legislation and some day-to-day practices which destroy racial harmony.' That is why there is need for a solemn declaration by the Governments of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, as well as the British Government, of the principles which it is intended that the new federation should apply in pursuit of African opportunity and advancement." (March 6, 1953).

South Africa commented editorially that "To propose, as the Primate and the Moderators (of the Church of Scotland, and the Free Church Federal Council) do, that as a sign of good faith, if not indeed as a condition of federation. Southern Rhodesia should agree forthwith

to change its legislation and practice on this or that aspect of native affairs, is to ask something which contradicts the whole principle of federation, which lays it down that there shall be no derogation from the rights which the individual territories already enjoy." (March 14, 1953).

Reactions in Central Africa

The Central African Post put the question: "What would be the result in Northern Rhodesia if, because of concerted agitation, the British Government faltered in its policy and refused to agree to federation?" Its view was that there would be an almost immediate estrangement between the British Government and ourselves. This estrangement could and would lead to all kinds of embarrassments for both. The goodwill of our European community to the British people would almost certainly suffer a profound change.... If Southern Rhodesia turns federation down, that is another matter. We would deplore it but we would put up with the decision with good grace. No substantial British community in the Colonies will tolerate having its reasonable plans sabotaged by ill will and misrepresentation in Britain." (January 30, 1953).

A swing towards federation has been reported in Southern Rhodesia: "In particular, the bringing of the African Affairs Board into the framework of the Federal Parliament has had a good effect; thus the Board, though not regarded with affection, is now regarded with considerably less misgiving than in its original form. (*The Times* February 9, 1953).

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, told the Rhodesian National Affairs Association in Salisbury that "if Southern Rhodesians could get the agreement of the elected members (of the Legislature) in Northern Rhodesia there is nothing the United Kingdom could do to stop us." He added: "Nowadays Britain is not even in a position to employ economical sanctions against us.... It is up to us to say we are good citizens not only of Southern Rhodesia, but of the Commonwealth and of the world." (*Manchester Guardian* February 28, 1953).

MR A. J. M. BANDA told the *Times* Correspondent in Lilongwe: "that the delegation of Nyasaland chiefs who have just returned from London were disappointed that they had not been received by the Queen, but they were well satisfied by the reception given to them by the people they met. If federation were put into effect, the people of Nyasaland would have to resist. They did not want trouble, but they were being forced into it, because things they did not want were being imposed. They were not Communists, nor were they anti European or anti-Government, but they were against domination by White settlers, and against having things imposed upon the people. Nyasaland did not agree that federation should be decided by a Southern Rhodesian referendum. They had no political ties with Southern Rhodesia, and they did not see why their fate should turn on the votes of the electorate there. It was possible that if, in the first instance, administrative officers had recommended federation instead of just explaining it, the people would have accepted it blindly. They were used to trusting the district commissioners but some suspicion had already been aroused by the unofficial members' conference on federation held at Victoria Falls in 1949. If they had accepted blindly, and then found out, when it was too late, that federation was a mistake, the situation might be worse than it was now. As Nyasaland was a Protectorate, it seemed doubtful whether Britain had a right to federate it against its will. It might be that treaties had been broken, and that there was a case against the British Government in international law." (*The Times* February 17, 1953).

Four chiefs have been suspended in Northern Rhodesia in the past month for "not co-operating with the Government" and an increasing deterioration in race relations has been reported in the copper belt. Harry Franklin, writing from Lusaka, said: "While the Government's prompt and firm action and severe court sentences are doubtless justified, since the rule of law must prevail, these short-term bud-nipping methods are unlikely to succeed while the British and the local Governments remain apparently blind to any consideration of African anti-Federation opinion. The omens are here now. The development of widespread non-co-operation and passive resistance, if nothing worse, may be slow, but if federation is bulldozed through it will be certain." (*The Observer* February 22, 1953).

In Northern Rhodesia, a number of business firms in Lusaka have contributed to the

funds of the African Congress, the organisation which is leading the fight against Federation. A leading business man who saw the list of contributing firms described it as containing the names of some of the most reputable firms in the capital. (*Central African Post* February 6, 1953).

The Coloureds and Eurafricans in Northern Rhodesia have decided to boycott the Rhodes Centenary celebrations. The Rev. L.W.S. Price, of the Methodist Mission at Kafue, is supporting them in their decision. When the invitation to take part in the celebrations was sent to the Coloured community at the end of last year they said they felt the only thing they had to celebrate was a hundred years of denied rights. (*Central African Post* February 6, 1952).

The Special Correspondent of *The Times*, in a despatch from Blantyre, said: "The feeling against Central African federation has spread deep and wide in Nyasaland. With it goes the adherence of many, if not most, of the chiefs to the nationalist organization known as the Nyasaland African Congress. There may be remote villages in certain parts where federation and Congress have not been heard of, but by now they must be rare. Nyasalanders are naturally cheerful, polite, and law-abiding, but to-day suspicion hangs over them like a cloud, and fantastic rumours, such as the Northern Rhodesian 'poisoned sugar' report are rife.... The most serious aspect is the adherence of the chiefs, virtually as a body, to Congress. The loyalty of the chiefs has always been a tacit assumption on which British indirect rule has rested, nor, except in rare cases, has it been questioned since the declaration of the Protectorate. Nobody cares to contemplate what would happen if this link was broken....

"Yet so great is the appeal of the old way of life in Nyasaland.... that few of its inhabitants really welcome federation, although the more reflecting ones are becoming convinced that it may be an unfortunate necessity. The European unofficial members have always been more lukewarm than their opposite numbers in Rhodesia. The Roman Catholic missions maintain neutrality, the Scottish, Livingstone's legatees, in some cases actively oppose it." (*The Times*. February 24, 1953).

The Copper Belt Wages Decision

The effect of the award made by the Arbitrator, Mr. G. W. Guillebaud to the African Mine Workers Union on the Copper Belt is that the basic wage of the lowest group will be increased by about 80 per cent and the basic wage of the highest group by about 15 per cent - the three lowest paid groups are awarded an increase of 1/2d. and the highest 1/8d. a shift.

"In his report Mr. Guillebaud referred to the Dagleish report of 1948 which recommended that Africans should be admitted into more and more responsible and skilled jobs in the mining and other industries. He said this report had hung like 'a dark cloud in the background' throughout the arbitration. Mr. Guillebaud said he hoped this award would provide a sounder basis for remuneration of Africans in their existing occupations but 'felt bound to place his profound conviction (on record) that satisfactory and harmonious relations on the Copper Belt will not be attained unless or until effective steps have been taken to enable African workers to advance to positions of greater responsibility and importance than those which are now open to them. (*Manchester Guardian* January 30, 1953).

The arbitrator said that "he wished to state emphatically, however, that the companies had every reason to consider themselves good employers. They were spending millions of pounds on improving housing, and had done much to lift up the Africans in the industrial scale and in health and general welfare." (*The Times* January 30, 1953).

The Times Special Correspondent reported: "It is essentially a report benefiting the lower grades of workers and does not touch on the advancement of the higher ones to more skilled employment. The question is being asked what effect it will have on employment elsewhere. Those who favour a higher wage economy for Africans are of the opinion that it may lead to increased efficiency, and to the accomplishment of better work by a smaller number of men." (January 30, 1953).

The Times reported that the most noticeable result of the award is "that the increases have consolidated the power of the African Mineworkers' unions and given them confidence to proceed with the next step. Coupled with this confidence is a growing realization that the principle of equal pay for equal work is not really likely to help the bulk of the Africans to industrial advancement. Some system of trade testing and grading by which Africans will at first be able to accept lower wages than Europeans for semi-skilled jobs would have to be introduced. Great importance is also attached to the establishment of technical schools." (February 11, 1953).

Colour Bar in Library

Indian members of Lusaka's Management Board library have been told they can no longer borrow books. A rule which excludes Asiatics and Africans from membership of the library has been invoked following complaints from Europeans who objected to the Indians. (Central African Post November 6, 1952).

Political Consciousness Among Africans Growing

The growing political consciousness of Africans in every part of Northern Rhodesia was the underlying theme of the annual report of the Secretary for Native Affairs that was published in September. "The Closer Association proposals have certainly had the result of strengthening - one might say creating - the feeling among Africans that they are members of a community who must sink or swim together", said the report of the Southern Provincial Commissioner, but the same sentiment was expressed by the other Provincial Commissioners.... The report supports the view that the African's main fear of federation is in regard to his land rights.

"One is forced to the conclusion that the two questions posed of 'Federation' and 'Partnership' were pre-judged from the start under a fear of European domination, a loss of land and a lessening chance of advancement," one Provincial Commissioner reported. Another wrote: "The Southern Province has an unfortunate history of compulsory removals of African settlements from land previously occupied by them with the tacit consent of, or at least without active protest from, the authorities, and later alienated to European farmers. It now appears to have been a grave mistake to have allowed occupation of unalienated Crown Lands by Africans to continue until the lands were leased: a thorough-going evacuation should have been organised at the time the Crown Lands were demarcated. The subsequent evictions, small in themselves but continuing over a period, have instilled into the African mind the idea that Government and the European settler attach no importance to African land rights and are prepared to ignore previous undertakings. We have now reached the stage when every political proposal and every development measure is suspected by the African to be a further attack upon the security of his tenure of his land." (Central African Post September 25, 1952).

Report by Director of Native Administration

In his annual report, COLONEL HARTLEY, Director of the Native Administration of Salisbury, said: "All in Southern Rhodesia... have before them many examples of the trend of events in Malay, French Indo-China and Indonesia and still closer at hand our neighbouring territories of the Union of South Africa, Bechuanaland, Northern Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo and Kenya, to say nothing of the Gold Coast, all of which appear to point to the failure of the administrators to recognise the symptoms and keep abreast of the times." The African Weekly commenting in an editorial that it is the duty of one who administers Africans affairs today to interpret the European to the African and the African to the European. "Unless he has the necessary qualification and the will to do what is expected of him civilisation will be betrayed in Africa." (January 14, 1953).

Letters to the Times

The Comment of Information Digest No.6, which had been submitted to the Editor of the Times, was published on February 18. MR. PATRICK GORDON WALKER wrote to the Times pointing out that the principle of consent was not Britain's 'only' argument against South Africa's demand for the incorporation of the High Commission territories. "The need for the free and untrammelled consent of Parliament is an essential part of our case." (February 21).

LORD BLEDISLOE expressed the opinion that "the rejection of the carefully and wisely conceived plan of Central African 'federation'" would prove disastrous to the future of these three African territories (February 24), and MISS MARGERY PERHAM wrote that "those who resist the imposition of federation do not claim, as is so often asserted, either that the Africans are now ready to play their full part in a democratic Government or that the Europeans are morally inferior to themselves. It is just because the Africans are politically unready that power over them should not be transferred to a group of people who, however high their individual merit, together represent a small racial minority of employers and large landowners... The dangerous political psychology of Africa today makes the retention of the encouraging, liberal, and adjustable power of the British Government all the more essential." (February 26) MR. R. R. STOKES maintained that federation "is best for the Africans", that it would enable a contented, prosperous and happy population, and would "be best for the rest of the world."

LORD TWEEDSMUIR said that "to speak of 'transfer to the Federal Government of all power to amend the Constitution, etc.', is to misread the federal scheme,... there is not, and never has been, any analogy whatever between the safeguards provided in the South African Act and the Southern Rhodesia letters patent, and those embodied in the present scheme." (February 25) SIR DOUGAL MALCOLM, PROFESSOR W. M. MACMILLAN and MR. C. J. M. ALPORT M.P., also wrote expressing their support of the federal proposals.

Replying to Lord Tweedsmuir's objection to the phrase "transfer of power to white settlers", PROFESSOR ARTHUR LEWIS pointed out that "Forty-four topics on the exclusive list and at least 31 on the concurrent list are being transferred from the Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, which the Colonial Office controls, to a new white settler federal legislature which is not subject to external control provided that it does not pass discriminatory legislation.... Supporters of the scheme talk about partnership between races, but this legislature shows little sign of it. There are to be six Africans in an Assembly of 36 members, and neither the number of Africans nor the qualifications for membership can be changed without a two-thirds majority in the Assembly." (March 3).

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, and the MODERATORS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE FREE CHURCH FEDERAL COUNCIL said: "It seems to us to be an urgent need, before federation is inaugurated, for imaginative action prompted by trust and understanding, to demonstrate to Africans that the intention behind the federal scheme is to provide the necessary political and economic framework within which all races can progress in effective co-operation. Nothing could so effectively demonstrate this intention as the removal of some discriminatory legislation and of some day-to-day practices which destroy racial harmony." (March 4).

MR. DINGLE FOOT, replying to Lord Tweedsmuir, said "It is odd that it should be alleged that the scheme is misread when it is pointed out that the Federal Assembly will possess the sole power to amend the constitution, and that no power to initiate such amendments will be reserved to the British Government.... Whatever a future conference of all the Governments concerned may wish, whatever the British Parliament may desire, the power is with the Federal Assembly to determine what amendments shall be made. It is a bleak outlook for Africans when their political advancement depends upon an Assembly controlled by a European majority." (March 5, 1953).

Congress for the Development of Civilisation in Africa

Delegates from Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Portuguese Guinea, French Equatorial Africa, and Ruanda-Urundi, and from many centres of the Belgian Congo itself, together with two delegates from the Capricorn Africa Society attended this Congress in the Belgian Congo from January 4 to 7. The resolutions passed included:

"(1) Proclaiming the supremacy of the ideals of Western civilisation and affirming that 'an important increase in European immigration representing all spheres of human activities is indispensable to the development of Central Africa'.

(2) Declaring hostility to all racial discrimination and stressing 'the necessity of promoting without neglecting the time factor, first of all the cultural, economic,

and social, and then the political progress of indigenous Africans in proportion to and to the full extent of their capacities'.

(3) Expressing the conviction that 'under these conditions a sincere collaboration between the inhabitants of Africa, black and white, is not only possible but indispensable for the moral and material progress of Africa and to the development of its immense latent resources of which the world has the greatest need',

(4) Considering it highly desirable 'that the wide measure of common principles, sentiments, and interests existing among all the countries of Central Africa will lead them to a closer association and to common and concerted action'.

(5) Setting up, under the title of 'Central African Congress' a permanent organisation, to meet in general once a year, and a committee to prepare for this organisation with any other opportune proposals at the next general meeting in 1954."

Monsieur Godding, the former Belgian Colonial Minister, stressed the need for "Increased European immigration and the closest co-operation with Africans."

2. EAST AFRICA

KENYA

Kikuyu Resistance Movement

In the course of an address to the Royal Empire and Royal African Societies CANON G. F. C. BEWES of the Church Missionary Society said: "Let not politicians comfort themselves that Mau Mau is confined to the Kikuyu people. A young educated Muganda said to me - and I quote verbatim from my diary written on the spot. 'Don't you know that other tribes are watching the issue, and the same economic, political, and social stresses may easily throw up a similar situation in both Uganda and Tanganyika. The Southern Sudan too has some unrest in it, and the real problem is a world-wide one, not just Kikuyu'."

Mr. Bewes continued: "The Kikuyu of old reckoned that religion is meant to affect the whole of the life. Isn't this where we western Christians, with our western civilisation, have gone astray ourselves, and so have helped to mislead the Kikuyu? We tend to keep our religion and our daily life in water-tight compartments. This is the tragedy of a purely nominal Christianity. But within the great body of the Church in every land there have always been a few real Christians; and it is on this little handful of true, believing, and practising Christians that the whole future of the Church in Kikuyu depends....

"People ask me: 'How do you know those who are resisting the Mau Mau oath?' It is easy to know; you cannot miss them. Their radiant faces, and indeed their whole bearing, marks them out. This is the Christian Resistance Movement; and the main attack of Mau Mau is upon these people. The Mau Mau hates them because of their emphasis upon fellowship, a fellowship that embraces people of all races. Mau Mau feeds on hate. Christianity emphasizes love.....

"I was sent out on a mission of goodwill, but I found that all the goodwill came back upon me. When you meet this inner core of Christian resistance you feel very proud, and very humble. One of the provincial commissioners met some of this group and said to them: 'When I see the quality of your Christian resistance and forbearance, it makes me proud to call myself a Christian'.

"I believe that the future of the Christian Church in Kikuyu, perhaps the future of the tribe, depends upon how these Christian Kikuyu are behaving now. They may not know it, but they are making history." (East Africa and Rhodesia March 5, 1953).

Constitutional Changes Demanded

Opposition is still being voiced to the demand by European elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council for constitutional adjustments to bring about a transfer of greater power to Nairobi in London. *The Times* reported that Africans and Asians had voiced their opposition in unqualified terms, "although the Africans have found themselves in some difficulty in discussing the question publicly as no meetings or other opportunities for public expression are permitted during the emergency.

"There is no doubt that, so far as African and Indian opinion is concerned, the introduction of political claims by the European community has not had a good effect. It is understood that the European elected members have begun discussions with the Government on their proposals.

"The standing committee of the Kenya Indian Congress has unanimously adopted a resolution making it 'clear beyond any shadow of doubt that the Indian community will oppose any form of Government which continues the unfair racial franchise and the consequential unequal distribution of political power.' The committee, it adds, 'is astonished that the leaders of the European community should think they can persuade other races to agree to administration of the colony under the 'leadership' or domination of the small European population, on the illusory promise of 'protection' of the interests of other races.'"

Colonial Secretary's Views

MR. OLIVER LYTTELTON, the Colonial Secretary told a meeting of the Royal Empire Society in London that the machine to deal with Mau Mau "had been 'largely perfected,' and there should be signs of definite results before long. He gave the situation in Malaya as an example of the kind of progress possible 'once the machine has been made perfectly.'.... 'We cannot make serious progress until we have banished fear from the minds of the Kikuyu. We must inflict as few wounds as we can and leave behind us as few scars as possible'." (*The Manchester Guardian* February 13, 1953).

Right to Public Assembly

A Motion by MR. W. W. AWORI, the new acting President of the Kenya African Union, that African members of the Legislative Council should be free to hold meetings with their people was defeated by 24 votes to 13.

"Proposing the motion, Mr. Awori said that the Legislature was the Africans' last court of appeal. African members found themselves in a most difficult position. When they came there they were supposed to speak on behalf of five million Africans, but when they left the council they could not speak with them. Had the Government any faith in them? If they had not, it was quite wrong for Africans to hold seats in the council.

"MR. S. V. COOKE declared that the rejection of the motion was the most unwise decision he had ever seen the Government take. It had been said that the crowds might get out of hand. 'One got out of hand the other day at Government House,' he said, 'but there have been no suggestions that Europeans be debarred from holding meetings.'

"Replying in the debate, Mr. Awori said: 'If you do not want our co-operation the consequence will fall on the Government. You will regret it later.'" *(The Times* February 23, 1953).

The Place of the Kikuyu in Kenya

The Manchester Guardian, commenting editorially on the dismissal of Kikuyu farm workers, many of whom might be quite innocent, said: "It has been staring every one in the face for months, if not for years, that the Kikuyu tribe needs more land, or more work off the land. The need will be just as acute if and when the Mau Mau movement is subdued; it may become more acute in the immediate future. There are said to be about 8,500 Kikuyu in the transit camps set up to house for the time being those who have had to move. Suppose there are as many again who are fending for themselves. What is that

to the 164,000 Kikuyu (including families) estimated to be living in the Rift Valley province on squatter tenure alone, to say nothing of men on ordinary wages? What happens if the stream becomes a river? What the Government is now considering should have been considered years ago, decided months ago, and put into operation by now.".....

It went on to point out that some farmers are "much readier to trust and work with Kikuyu whom they know than the authorities are. A group of farmers at Subukia wrote recently to the provincial commissioner: 'In contradiction to the suggestion that no Kikuyu can be trusted . . . it is pointed out that local authority has completely failed to give any lead to the loyal Kikuyu in this district, who have consistently requested to be allowed to take their share in assisting the forces of Government to restore law and order: such offers have not been accepted and no lead or assistance has been given to these men to organise themselves.' They went on to say: 'it is now surely an accepted fact that the only way in which this evil can be successfully and lastingly combated is from within the tribe itself.' The real difficulties of the Kikuyu do not go unappreciated." (March 5, 1953).

Walter Odede

Commenting on the detainment of WALTER ODEDE, the acting president of the Kenya African Union, and Member of the Legislative Council, the *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial, said: "Whether the Government has acted rightly or not it is a sad day for Kenya either way. Mr. Odede has been reckoned a man of integrity and good sense; lacking Mr. Mathu's quickness in thought or in self-expression, but well ballasted, rational and sincere.... There has been no previous suggestion that Mr. Odede himself was involved in the Mau Mau movement, and he carries much weight with African opinion. If he should now be proved a bruised reed he will leave a hard gap to fill.... If he is proved innocent the Government may unforgivably have made a lasting and influential enemy out of one who might have been a friend." (February 10, 1953).

Suppression of the Press

Most African newspapers have been proscribed under the Emergency Regulations in the last few months - exactly how many it is difficult to say, for most of them promptly reappeared under different names. Most were written in Kikuyu - evidence of the greater political consciousness and literacy of the Kikuyu compared with other tribes. Though originally semi-seditious, the editorial policies of these journals and their successors had become gradually more cautious.

On January 14, the Tribune Press, which printed seven or eight of these papers, was closed by order of the police for a full year.

'None of the African newspapers printed by me at the time of suppression contained any comment or editorial matter at all, not even letters to the editor.' said Mr. Dharam Kumar Sharda, the Indian owner of the press. 'In fact they consisted of translations into Kikuyu of excerpts from the East African Standard.' (the English Daily of Nairobi). Once a periodical has been proscribed, possession even of back numbers becomes a penal offence. A week after the latest list of proscriptions, the Nairobi police raided the African quarter and arrested a number of Kikuyu for the possession of 'seditious literature'.

African ex-editors have sent a delegation to the government, asking for a press censorship in Kenya. They prefer it to the present arbitrary system. The regulations which allow a printing press to be closed also allow the Registrar to make an exception for the printing of any particular periodical. No such exception has been made, in the case of The Tribune, which has now been forced to cease publication altogether.

Statement on Casualties

On February 19, the Government of Kenya announced that "202 people of all races had been killed through subversive activity since the start of the emergency last October. These victims of the Mau Mau included 9 Europeans, 3 Asians, and 190 loyal Africans, including 177 Kikuyu. During the same period the forces of law and order had killed 122 terrorists." (*Manchester Guardian* February 20, 1953).

Indians in East Africa

The Indian commented on the fact that no representative of the Asian community, which comprises Indian Moslems and Non-Moslems and of the Arab people, has been appointed to the Royal Commission for East Africa. Yet the Indians and the Arab community greatly outnumber the Europeans. The comment concluded It is hoped that wiser counsels may yet prevail, and that a member of the Asian community will be given a place on the Royal Commission so that this body may be representative of all interests and may put forward a solution to the complicated problem based on multi-racial society in Africa

"In passing, it may be noticed that in the various deliberations and discussions about the problems in Central Africa, no mention is being made about the position and the future of the Asian community, which though small yet plays an important part in the trade and commerce of the three territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland." (February, 1953).

The Indian community is collecting funds for the Gandhi Memorial College in East Africa. At a reception given by the African Association of Zanzibar DR. YAGNIK explained that the purpose of the College was to provide facilities for higher education for which students at present had to go abroad. Explaining Gandhian philosophy he said that "Gandhiji believed in love, truth and non-violence. Even while non-co-operating he bore no ill-will towards his opponents. It was a high philosophy the value of which was coming to be appreciated more and more". (The Zanzibar Voice January 4, 1953).

TANGANYIKA

The Chagga Society

CHIEF THOMAS MAREALLE of the Chagga has described the tremendous responsibility of taking over the administration of Chaggaland with its many complex problems. He writes "Chaggaland is 520 square miles area with a population of nearly 300,000. The Chagga are a dynamic society whose progress over the last 30 years has been almost phenomenal. Our Treasury Revenue has risen from very little to £110,000 added to which we have imposed a cess of 10d. per lb. on all Chagga-grown coffee raising a clear £63,000 this year from this source alone. This has been used for much needed special development works, i.e. the provision of extra Schools outside our normal schedule, clinics, hospitals, ambulances, a new Chagga Council building worth £20,000, and an official residence for me which they insisted upon against all my protests.

"The reforms of 1951, for which the Chagga people have agitated for 20 years, have brought much hope to the mountain people. They wanted elected Councillors at all levels i.e. parish, Area Chiefdoms, Divisional Chiefdoms and the Chagga Council. The Council now consists of 16 members elected from the Area Chiefdoms, 16 Area Chiefs nominated, and 3 Divisional Chiefs, and Non-Chief Councillors being nominated direct to the Chagga Council from each of the three Divisions. This makes a total of 38 which with the 7 members coopted by the Chagga Council completes the membership of 45. Their second point was a Paramount Chief they now have one. Their third was the appointment of Magistrates for the Area and Divisional Courts these have been appointed to replace the Area and Divisional deputy Chiefs who were almost all brothers of the ruling chiefs."

UGANDA

Constitutional Reforms

Important constitutional reforms have been announced for the Kingdom of Buganda, the most highly developed of Uganda's four provinces. The Colonial Office has taken the initiative, under the guidance of the Governor SIR ANDREW COHEN in pressing for wider democratic rights for the African inhabitants, and the conservative King of Buganda, the KABAKA, has enhanced his position by obtaining greater responsibilities for his country.

Instead of the former Cabinet of three Ministers, a new Cabinet will be formed with three additional Ministers who will be given control of the portfolios of Education,

Health and Natural Resources. For the first time the Buganda Parliament will be consulted in the appointment of these Ministers and 60 instead of 40 of the 89 members of parliament will be elected. Britain is to transfer to this Government responsibility at provincial and local government level for the greater part of the educational, public health and agricultural services.

3. SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The REV. TREVOR HUDDLESTON, Provincial of the Community of the Resurrection in South Africa, has appealed to the outside world for support in the campaign against oppressive legislation. "I would urge with all my strength that you mobilise every person of standing in England to condemn what is happening out here, particularly the two new Acts of tyranny.... It is quite certain that once these Bills become law, it will be almost impossible to get the Press in South Africa to report anything which bears upon the Defiance Campaign, or, indeed, anything which even remotely resembles criticism of the Government or incitement. The Press is already extremely nervous. In my view, therefore, we have reached the point in South Africa where we must depend upon outside help to the fullest extent, particularly the Press.

"I believe that the only thing which might shake our Government is determined hostility from the rest of the world.... Would it not be possible at this late date to press for the consideration of a vote of censure on South Africa by other members of the Commonwealth on the grounds that her policies are a direct attack on man's rights, and a danger to peace not only in the Continent of Africa but in the world? There is now no question of political interference: it is a question simply of human rights and liberties." (*Church of England Newspaper* March 6, 1953).

The Public Safety and the Criminal Law Amendment Acts

Nine well-known South Africans including the BISHOP OF JOHANNESBURG are signatories to a statement which condemned these Acts. "These laws", they said, "will not protect civilisation. They will destroy it.... We call upon the people of this country to see what is in store for them in (these) bills, and to do everything in their power to avert disaster." They added, "The Criminal Laws Amendment Bill provides savage penalties for any offences, however minor, committed by way of protest against any law, however unjust, including imprisonment up to three years and a whipping up to ten strokes. It provides even more barbaric penalties in the case of any person who does anything 'calculated to cause any person to commit an offence by way of protest against any law.... The effect of all this must be to stifle any criticism in regard to the basic issues confronting our country. To grant powers such as these to any Government, however democratic, would be intolerable." (*Rand Daily Mail* February 16, 1953).

After an emergency meeting of the Torch Commando's action committee, MR. L. KANE-BERMAN, national Chairman of the Commando, released a statement expressing horror at the 'savagery of these laws'. He said the Commando would oppose them with all the energy it could muster. "To accept these Bills is to subscribe to insensate dictatorship in South Africa." (*South Africa* February 14, 1953).

A statement by the Christian Council of South Africa, signed by ARCHBISHOP GEOFFREY CLAYTON of Cape Town, said the Christian Church could never undertake to maintain silence in the face of laws which seemed to infringe Christian principles. "On behalf of the Christian Council of S.A. we desire to record our protest against the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. We have sought an interview with the Prime Minister in which it was our intention to make certain representations about the Bills, but the Prime Minister was not able to grant us an interview." (*Rand Daily Mail* February 28, 1953).

A resolution calling on the Trades and Labour Council to take every opportunity of protesting publicly against the Bills was passed at an emergency meeting of Trade Unions in Johannesburg last week. "About 138,500 trade unionists - nearly double the number affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council - were represented by 89 delegates. (*South Africa* February 28, 1953).

"The attitude of the United Party to the Public Safety Bill was expressed by SENATOR HEATON NICHOLLS when the Senate took the third and final reading. He said: 'The country will be under no illusions concerning the power now being given to the Government. To-morrow we shall be virtually in a police state. To-morrow the Government can proclaim the whole Union to be in a state of emergency without giving any reason. It can suspend every newspaper, adopt the most drastic measure to curtail the freedom of every person, confiscate their property, and suspend every law. Let there be no doubt about the facts.' But after the warnings Senator Heaton Nicholls acquiesced in what he called 'this abject surrender by Parliament of its authority.' The United Party accepted the legislation because it believed that European authority must be maintained in South Africa." (South Africa February 28, 1953).

The Passive Resistance Campaign

At a meeting of more than 10,000 Africans in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, the new President-General of the African National Congress, MR. A. J. LUTHULI, said that the mouths of the A.N.C. leaders might be shut but not their spirit. No section of the people had the right to claim exclusive rights to civilisation. He said "We would be failing in our duty as Christians if we did not awaken our people." (Evening Post January 26, 1953).

At another meeting sponsored by the S.A. Indian Congress & African National Congress, MR. PATRICK DUNCAN, son of the former Governor-General of the Union, said "You have the whole world on your side except for a few hundred thousand in South Africa. Provided the campaign goes on in the way it has gone on, you will continue to have that support." (Rand Daily Mail February 9, 1953).

At a meeting convened by the Transvaal African Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress in Johannesburg, FATHER TREVOR HUDDLESTON (Head of the Community of the Resurrection in Southern Africa) said that he could not claim to represent his fellow clergy, but the teaching of the Church had always been that when government degenerated into tyranny, its laws ceased to be binding upon its subjects. 'The effect of these Bills is a very long step towards tyranny. And this is something which, in my belief, the Church must condemn.' He did not believe that the defiance campaign aimed at promoting racial conflict. (Rand Daily Mail February 16, 1953).

Commenting on the attitude of the United Party, MR. WALTER SISULU, African National Congress General Secretary, said that the confused and vacillating policies of the leadership of the Opposition groups had minimised the chances of their winning the election. In effect, the whole attitude of the United Front leadership was to hand over completely to the Nationalist regime. 'Other democratic forces, will, however, carry on the fight.' he said. (Advance February 12).

MR. S. MOKOENA, leader of a Group of non-violent resisters in a statement before the Bloemfontein Court said: "It has been suggested by our European administrators, Your Worship included, that we should ventilate our grievances through the "proper channels," and that, as it is now, the law needs must take its course against us. Some there are who have even gone so far as to suggest that, as these laws were passed by Parliament, we should see to it that the same Parliament repealed or amended them. We have exhausted all attempts to air our genuine sufferings through the so-called "proper channels".

"The history of our struggle for liberation is a sad story of unfulfilled or broken promises by our White administrators. It is a history characterised by obsequious representations and cap-in-hand deputations.

"To suggest that we should bring pressure to bear upon Parliament to repeal or amend these unjust laws is to make mockery of our sufferings. It is common knowledge that, because of our colour, we are a voteless and voiceless majority." (British Weekly January 15, 1953).

DR. NJONGWE, speaking to a Unitarian Minister from the United States about the organisation of the defiance campaign at Port Elizabeth said: "There is not a single, paid full-time staff worker. We even have a volunteer corps of physicians to care for the

families of our people in jail and to examine each volunteer. We don't want sick people and we don't want contagious diseases to break out in prison. Each volunteer goes to classes for six weeks to learn the disciplines of non-violence." (*The Courier* January 17, 1953).

MR QUINTIN WHYTE, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, said in a statement that "The significance of the defiance campaign was in fact that there were more than 7,500 non-Europeans prepared to go to jail and that no incident had been provoked. This implied a confidence and a self-discipline which nobody expected of the Native people and the emergence of a self-sacrificial leadership to an extent not known before." (*The Star* January 6, 1953).

CHRISTIAN ACTION, an interdenominational organisation in London under the chairmanship of CANON JOHN COLLINS, has opened a fund to assist the families and dependents of White, African and Asiatic citizens of South Africa who have been imprisoned for passive resistance to the racial laws. At a public meeting on January 3, £700 was raised.

Attitude of the New African Congress President

CHIEF LUTHULI, who was recently elected President-General of the African National Congress in South Africa, said in a statement that for the 17 years of his chieftainship and some time before that, when he was a school teacher, he had striven for the progress and welfare of his people. "In this effort I always pursued what liberal-minded people rightly regarded as the path of moderation. Over this great length of time I have, year after year, gladly spent hours of my time with such organisations as the Church and its various agencies, such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and the now defunct Native Representative Council.

"In so far as gaining citizenship rights and opportunities for the unfettered development of the African people, who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly, at a closed and barred door?

"What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party? Not! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all; no adequate land for our occupation, our only asset cattle, dwindling; no security of homes; no decent and remunerative employment; more restrictions to freedom of movement through passes, curfew regulations, influx control measures. In short, we have witnessed in these years an intensification of our subjection to ensure and protect White supremacy.

"It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress (Natal), I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them to-day, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner.

"This stand of mine, which resulted in my being sacked from the chieftainship, might seem foolish and disappointing to some liberal and moderate Europeans and non-Europeans with whom I have worked these many years, and with whom I still hope to work. This is no parting of the ways but a launching further into the deep. I invite them to join us in our unequivocal pronouncement of all legitimate African aspirations and in our firm stand against injustice and oppression. The wisdom or foolishness of this decision I place in the hands of the Almighty." (*The Friend* January 16, 1953).

THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

BASUTOLAND

"At the first general meeting of the BASUTOLAND AFRICAN CONGRESS it was resolved that its establishment was not a signal for strike, but, on the contrary, it aimed to bring about a co-operation between the authorities and the Basuto, so that we will be

better able to resist incorporation into the Union of South Africa." It also resolved to guard jealously "our existing rights and to make such representations to the authorities as to remove any denial of rights which is inconsistent with the declaration of human rights upheld by the U.N.O. and supported by the British Government under whose protection we wish to remain." (Mochochonono January 17, 1953).

SWAZILAND

An editorial in *Izwi lama Swazi*, described the progress made in education, and said that: "On the Administrative side there had been steady development of the Native Courts and of the National Treasury. There has been a continuance of the happy race relationships that exist in our country and we have been free of all the disturbing problems, perplexities and tragedies that have occurred in other territories.... For the New Year the important resolution was to be: 'Conserve our soil and water'."

4. WEST AFRICA

THE GOLD COAST

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE, Governor of the Gold Coast, giving the speech from the throne said that the "government is convinced that all parties are united in their desire for immediate self-government within the Commonwealth: differences of opinion exist only on the means by which this end should be achieved." (West Africa February 21, 1953).

The *Evening News* (Accra) said that "The Governor at the Legislative Assembly yesterday made history. Never, in Colonial Struggles, had any Governor been so outspoken on the question of a peoples aspirations. We cannot express our gratitude for this magnanimity which reflects the sincerity of the representative Minister".

Commenting on DR NKRUMAH'S understanding that economic development is impossible without stability, *West Africa* said that "the Prime Minister's statement in the Assembly last October remains the best guide for discussion of self-government in the Gold Coast, while his government's attitude to the Volta Scheme is determined by the same outlook. But to prevent possible disillusionment the limited economic results of self-government should always be stressed in the discussions now going on in the Gold Coast. This would not mean less enthusiasm for self-government. But it would mean that self-government, when it came, would have a surer foundation because the people did not expect it to do what it could not do". (February 21, 1953).

During his visit to Liberia, DR NKRUMAH in a farewell speech said: "I do not believe in racialism and tribalism. The concept 'Africa for the Africans' does not mean other races are excluded from it. No, it only means that Africans can and must govern themselves in their own countries without imperialist and foreign impositions, but that people of other races can remain on African soil, carry on their legitimate avocations, and live on terms of peace, friendship and equality with Africans on their own soil. The way in which the Government here has engaged people of various races and nationalities, who are making their contribution to the development of this country in their humble way, and not as bosses, is eloquent tribute to this country and an example of the type of race relationship for the emulation of the world". (West Africa February 14, 1953).

NIGERIA

Commenting on the Ministerial crisis in Nigeria, the *Times* said that behind the resignations of the 9 ministers of the Eastern Region and the counter-resignations "stands the figure of Dr. Azikiwe with his desire for more authority in Nigerian politics - as well as the feeling among the more impatient Nigerian politicians that the new constitution has not gone far enough in giving Nigerians power. What is now threatened is, in fact a policy of non-cooperation. How Dr. Azikiwe will fare with his manoeuvres has still to be seen, but the honeymoon of the new Nigerian constitution definitely seems to have come to an end."

The *Manchester Guardian* commented editorially: "To work the Constitution is to

co-operate with the British and to employ one's energies in the tedious processes of legislation and in the unpopular increasing of taxation. Breaking the Constitution has all the attractiveness of revolutionary activity and gives opportunities for physical opposition of the British. Dr. Azikiwe has chosen the popular line of breaking the Constitution and can be sure of a following from the ranks of those who are prepared to act without thinking and who like to feel that they are doing something practical for Nigeria's freedom. The Action Group (led by Mr. Awolowo) and the intelligentsia, who have chosen to work the Constitution although they command a considerable following, cannot appeal to the illiterate masses as can Dr. Azikiwe with his much more attractive policy of breaking the Constitution.... The political situation in Nigeria has developed dangerous possibilities which, if not controlled by Nigerians themselves, may not only retard Nigeria's progress but may even lead her backwards." (March 9, 1953).

SIERRA LEONE

"The long-awaited announcement of the constitutional amendments which will enable appointed African members of the Executive Council to assume portfolios has been generally welcomed here....

"Much will depend in practice on the working relationship established between Ministers and the official heads of their departments: during the period when African executive councillors have been taking special interest in these departments, relations seem to have worked smoothly. Official heads will still retain executive control of their departments - a necessary consequence of the size of these Ministerial provinces, which recall those of the British overlords. The Directors of Agriculture, Education, and Medical Services will continue to sit in Legislative Council in order to give professional and technical advice. Both these last arrangements are viewed with some suspicion by sensitive Nationalists, but both will probably prove sound and equitable in practice. (Manchester Guardian March 3, 1953).

West African Colleges

"The Vice-Chancellor of Durham University, Sir James Luff, and the Registrar of Oxford University, Mr. Douglas Veale, who recently spent two weeks visiting the University College of the Gold Coast at Achimota, and the Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, returned with the conviction that the West African colleges may prove to be the most durable link between Africans and the British. In many subjects, they consider, the African colleges, by using their unique local opportunities, can make a contribution to knowledge greater in certain fields than any British university can hope to do, and they feel that if young British men and women were to live and work in them as a tiny minority of expatriates - just as Africans live as a tiny minority in universities here - the substantial equality of the African colleges with British institutions would be established." (The Times March 6, 1953).

5. SUDAN

In commenting on the draft agreement between Britain and Egypt, the *Manchester Guardian* said "that it is a reasonable, if not the ideal, settlement of what seemed likely to become a tangle impossible to unravel and that it offers the Sudanese a fair chance to set out on the adventure of self-government without any crippling conditions."....

"The success of the new constitution will depend very largely on the spirit in which it is applied, particularly the spirit in which the various international commissions approach their task.

"On the Nile the dispute over the status of the Sudan has never entirely halted progress, as the agreement to proceed with the Owen Falls scheme showed. But it has certainly hindered it, as in the long delay in proceeding with the plan for a dam at the outlet of Lake Tana. A provisional agreement about this was drafted in 1946, but the planning of negotiations with Ethiopia has been held up for years because of the uncertainty about the future of the Sudan. If the full scheme for the control of Nile waters can be carried out - and it may take twenty years or more to complete - it is by far the

most useful contribution which can be made to Egypt's fundamental problem, that of expanding cultivation to meet the needs of growing numbers." (February 16, 1953).

East Africa & Rhodesia asked what real guarantee there is "that the northern politicians will be consistently concerned to do justice to the backward peoples of the south, whom most of them despise?... The document signed in Cairo will soon be recognized as calamitous. It would be well if that were realized by the Conservative Party now, before the draft is ratified." (February 19, 1953).

SIR ROBERT HOWE, Governor-General of the Sudan, said at a public ceremony in Khartoum that it would be in unity of purpose and action that the future security and prosperity of the Sudanese would lie. "I want now to say a word to the Southern Sudan. The representatives of the southern provinces took part in the debate on the Self-Government Statute and gave the Statute as drafted their approval. The agreement signed in Cairo yesterday makes certain amendments to that Statute, amendments upon which the Southern Sudanese have not been formally consulted. The representation given to the southern provinces in the Statute remains unaffected. It is a fair representation - 22 seats in the House of Representatives, two Ministers in the Cabinet and proportional representation in the Senate.... I ask you to take part in the elections, to send your representatives to the two Houses, and if in your opinion amendments are needed in the constitution, work for them by democratic and constitutional means."

The Special Correspondent of the Times in the Sudan described the country's vast distances - eight million people are scattered over one million square miles - the bad communications, lack of mechanical transport, nomadism and general ignorance as to what an election is about, which set peculiar problems for the forthcoming election. "National politics stir little interest outside the large towns." In the first direct election to be held, for the Northern White Nile Rural Council, "it was noted that the voting was almost wholly on tribal or sectarian lines with little regard to politics or personal merit". The correspondent felt that in a country about as large as western Europe, where the idea of national unity has scarcely developed, it might have been safer to let self-government develop on a basis of provinces and regions unified or co-ordinated at the top by some sort of federal machinery" (The Times March 6, 1953).

6. GENERAL

Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones

The Africa Bureau deeply regrets the death of MR. J D RHEINALLT JONES who was a founder of the South African Institute of Race Relations and its director until 1947, when he joined the Anglo American Corporation as adviser on native affairs.

The loss of his knowledge and influence in African questions will be greatly felt. 'C.N.', writing in the Manchester Guardian, said "The death of Mr. Rheinallt Jones has removed an unofficial leader of the liberal school in South African race relations. Rheinallt Jones had the Welsh religious crusading spirit and in the country of his adoption maintained his Welsh wrath at any action which denied freedom and opportunity. He was adviser in countless conferences behind the scenes which have worked for better relations between all sections of employers and employed in South Africa. His lasting monument is the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg."

Scottish Council for African Questions

This Council has been set up to co-ordinate and develop the work of Local Committees in Edinburgh, Glasgow and elsewhere. The Council proposes to work in close touch with the Africa Bureau and has adopted the same aims. Its first activity will be to hold a series of public meetings to arouse public opinion in Scotland to "the grave danger to racial harmony in Central Africa if Federation is imposed against the will of the African peoples.....

The Rev. WILLIAM C. GALBRAITH, of Glasgow, Chairman of the Executive Committee was a Church of Scotland Missionary in Nyasaland for over 20 years. He told a Press Conference in Edinburgh that: "Scotland has had an intimate connection with the opening up of Africa, and we Scots have the reputation of getting on well with Africans of all races. Our explorers and missionaries have handed on to us a responsibility which we cannot ignore."

"Sir GORDON LETHAM, (an Hon. President) who had 25 years as a colonial administrator, followed by periods as Governor of the Seychelles, Leeward Islands, and British Guiana, said their object was to inform public opinion and, if necessary, to arouse it in Scotland. If the racial question was not solved somehow, and soon, we would have to face up to crashing failure in all our remaining colonies. Central African Federation was the immediate problem, but there were others. He was shocked to see our sacred obligations in South-West Africa, backed by all the great Powers, go by the board without an official word of protest". (*The Scotsman* March 6, 1953).

Amongst the Hon. Vice-Presidents are the VERY REV. PRINCIPAL JOHN BAILLIE, LADY GLEN-COATS, and the BISHOP OF EDINBURGH. The Executive Committee is as follows:- REV. W. C. GALBRAITH (Chairman), DR. KENNETH LITTLE (Vice-Chairman,) REV. W. D. CATTANACH, MESSRS. JOHN HATCH, PENRY JONES, BRUCE MILLAN, SINCLAIR SHAW Q.C., and MRS. EILEEN SPENCER (Secretary). Enquiries should be sent to the Secretary, 52 Queen Street, Edinburgh 2.

Challenge from Africa

LADY PAKENHAM, writing for the *Catholic Herald* said, "Briefly, we must apply the whole of Christian principles to Africa, not just a part..... We who have destroyed so much that was bad - some things that were good, too, in their way - what can we put in its place? Nothing less than a full gift of Christianity, the unqualified belief in man's equality before God, with its corollary of justice among men.

"Amid all the complex questions which face us in Africa today nothing short of undiluted Christianity will save the day. If we water it down with selfish or expedient heresies or half-truths, we shall lose Africa - for God and for democracy." (January 30, 1953).

World Council of Churches

On January 5th, the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, which gave special attention to South African racial problems, passed a resolution that all racial discrimination is contrary to the will of God as expressed in the Christian gospel. The resolution calls upon member churches to do all in their power to end discrimination wherever it exists, because it increases tension and bitterness." (*India News* February 1, 1953).

African Education

A study of educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa has been published on behalf of the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office. The inquiry was prompted by two main criticisms - that too few children had a chance of schooling, and that of those few, too small a proportion carried it to the stage at which it could be really useful to them. One of the points made in the study is that "the educational system will be failing to reach its objectives if it does not produce a better understanding between men and women of different races. This is of particular urgency in plural communities. We do not think that reliance should be placed upon formal teaching about race-relations. Proper attitudes are acquired almost unconsciously from association with teachers who themselves show in their lives goodwill towards other people. They are learnt by pupils in the process of living, working, and playing with pupils who belong to other communities.... We suggest that the inter-racial principle already existing at Makerere and the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, and in some secondary schools, should be extended wherever suitable opportunities occur."

(*African Education*. Crown Agents for the Colonies. 8s.6d.)



